

POL438H/POL2321H

## **BUSINESS AND POLITICS**

### **POWER IN A GLOBAL WORLD**

**Winter 2016**

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Office hours: Tuesday 12-2 pm; or by appointment

Course meeting time: Wednesday 10am-12pm  
Course location: UC 148

#### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This seminar course explores the political power of business from an international and comparative perspective. We will examine the ways that business can acquire and exert political power and the ways politics and policy can shape business power. We will draw from international and comparative political economy, global governance studies, and related disciplines such as management and sociology. Topics of discussion include the role of public authority in governing business behavior, the formation of business interests and preferences, business' instrumental, structural and discursive power, corporate lobbying and agenda setting, capitalist ideology, civil society activism toward business, corporate social responsibility, transnational private governance, and bank bailouts after the economic crisis. Throughout the course, we will pay close attention to research design, and to improving research, writing, and presentation skills.

#### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

By the end of this course, students will be able to compare and contrast a diverse set of concepts and theories for analyzing the political role of business. They will be able to assess the validity of empirical applications of these theories and provide constructive critiques. In addition, they will

be able to apply the frameworks and theories to topics of their own interest. Finally, students will have learnt to communicate their critiques and insights in written form through short reflection and long research papers, and verbally through class discussions and presentations.

In order to achieve these objectives, students should attend class, complete all the required readings before class, actively participate in class discussions, and allow sufficient time to prepare for and complete assignments.

## **COURSE READINGS**

There is no textbook for this course. All readings will be made available electronically through Blackboard under the heading "Course materials".

When chapters of e-books are assigned, I recommend students download a PDF copy of the chapter and save it on their computer, when this option is available through the library website.

## **ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING**

ATTENDANCE AND PARTICIPATION	20%	Cumulative
CRITICAL REFLECTION PAPERS	20%	Student's choice (see below)
RESEARCH PROPOSAL	10%	February 5, 11:59 pm
PAPER PRESENTATION	10%	March 23, March 30 or April 6
RESEARCH PAPER	40%	April 10, 11.59 pm

### **Attendance and Participation (20%)**

This is an advanced, reading intensive course. You are expected to have read all the assigned required readings before class, prepare questions and critical comments on the readings, and actively participate in class discussions. This includes, but is not limited to:

- raising questions for clarification
- raising a topic directly related to the readings
- comparing and contrasting arguments that are made in the readings
- providing examples
- respectfully engaging in a critical and constructive discussion

### **Critical Reflection Papers (20%)**

Each student will write three critical reflection papers of three pages each (typed, double-spaced, 12 point font). The aim of the papers is not to summarize the readings of a given week. Rather,

the aim is to critically compare and contrast them, identify strengths and shortcomings, and offer critical insights into the arguments and findings. You will write two papers on a topic from weeks 2-5, and one paper on a topic from weeks 7-9.

Undergraduate students will write the reflection papers on all the required readings of a given week, while graduate students will write the reflection papers on all the required and (one of) the additional reading(s) of a given week.

All critical reflection papers are due the evening before the class in which the readings will be discussed, at 8 pm by email in Word (or equivalent) format, not PDF. Critical reflection papers submitted after this deadline will not be accepted.

### **Research Proposal (10%), Paper Presentation (10%), and Research Paper (40%)**

Students will write a comprehensive research paper on a topic that is directly related to the topics discussed in class. The paper can be a research paper in which you try to answer a specific research question, an in-depth theoretical or empirical examination of a particular topic of our class, or a “think piece” essay that can be used as the basis for developing an academic article, or a trial thesis/dissertation topic.

A **research proposal** of three pages (typed, double-spaced, 12 point font) is due on Friday February 5, 11:59 pm. The proposal will include a research topic/question, how you intend to answer the question or approach the topic, a preliminary argument, and a preliminary bibliography. The bibliography is not counted towards the three page limit. You should discuss your topic with me during office hours before this deadline. The research proposal should be uploaded to Blackboard in Word (or equivalent) format, not PDF.

Students will **present** their paper in class during weeks 11-13. The presentation will consist of a short outline of the paper topic and main findings, followed by a brief Q&A. More details will be provided in class.

The **research paper** (typed, double-spaced, 12 point font) is due on April 10, 11:59 pm. It will be 3000 words for undergraduate students, and 4000 words for graduate students. This word count does not include footnotes and bibliography. The paper should be uploaded to Blackboard and turnitin.com in Word (or equivalent) format, not PDF.

You should aim to use a wide variety of sources to write your papers (at least 15 academic articles and books). A helpful resource is the political science research guide that is available through <http://guides.library.utoronto.ca/researchguides> .

I also encourage you to contact the political science library liaison in case you need help with your research: Judith Logan [judith.logan@utoronto.ca](mailto:judith.logan@utoronto.ca)

Please note that Wikipedia and similar user-generated websites are not considered reliable sources of information.

As a reference style, please use the APA style: in-text citations in the following format: (author, year, page), and a bibliography with full references at the end of the paper.

A useful resource on how to cite properly can be found at:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

### **USE OF TURNITIN.COM**

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

### **PENALTIES FOR LATE SUBMISSIONS**

Students that are not able to meet the deadline for an assignment should discuss this with the instructor before the deadline has passed. Unless stated otherwise above, per 24 hours the late penalty will be 10% of the grade for that assignment (i.e. less than 24h late = minus 10%, 24-48h late = minus 20%, etc.).

Exceptions to this policy are only possible for medical or personal emergencies. Be prepared to provide written proof as requested by the instructor (e.g., doctor's note).

### **ABSENCE FROM CLASS**

Students that are not able to attend class for personal or medical reasons should notify the instructor before the start of the class. You may be asked to submit a make-up assignment in order to receive a grade for that class session. Unexcused absence from class will result in a zero grade for that class session. Be prepared to provide written proof of medical or personal emergencies as requested (e.g., doctor's note).

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

In academic work:

- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources (see <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/>).

In addition, a useful resource is the "How not to plagiarize" information on the following website: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Students are **required to submit, with every written assignment, a declaration** that they have read and understood the Academic Integrity policy and that their work reflects this policy. The declarations can be found on Blackboard under "Course Materials." For undergraduate students it is called the "Undergraduate Academic Integrity Checklist" and for graduate students it is called the "Graduate Declaration of Academic Honesty."

## PRIVACY AND COPYRIGHT

For reasons of privacy and protection of copyright, unauthorized video or audio recording in the classroom, and unauthorized reproduction of course material is prohibited, as outlined in the

Provost's guidelines on the "Appropriate Use of Information and Communication Technology" (<http://www.provost.utoronto.ca/policy/use.htm>):

"The unauthorised use of any form of device to audiotape, photograph, video-record or otherwise reproduce lectures, course notes or teaching materials provided by instructors is covered by the Canadian Copyright Act and is prohibited. Students must obtain prior written consent to such recording. In the case of private use by students with disabilities, the instructor's consent must not be unreasonably withheld."

## **RESOURCES**

Academic Support: <http://life.utoronto.ca/get-smarter/academic-support/>

Writing Centre: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/>

The Centre for Teaching Support and Innovation: <http://www.teaching.utoronto.ca/>

Health & Wellness Centre: <http://discover.utoronto.ca/health-wellness>

Student Jobs and Career Planning: <http://graduationandbeyond.utoronto.ca/careers/>

Accessibility Services: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as>

## **COMPUTER AND CELL PHONE USE**

Cell phones must be turned off or silenced at the beginning of the class. Using your cell phone during class is not allowed.

You are allowed to use your computer or tablet in class to take notes, or to consult the readings. However, if I notice that you use your computer or tablet for any other purpose you will not be allowed to use the device anymore for the remainder of the class.

## **EMAIL POLICY**

Please use your university email (utoronto.ca) to contact me with short or urgent questions. Make sure to always mention the course number in the subject line of your email. I will attempt to respond to your email within 48 hours of receiving your message. This time frame does not apply to emails received during weekends and holidays, when it may take longer to respond.

If you have more elaborate questions or concerns, I advise you to come to my office hours, or make a personal appointment with me.

## SUSTAINABILITY

This course is recognized as a University of Toronto Green Course, which has steps in place to reduce the amount of course-generated paper, encouraging students to print multiple slides per page, double-side printing or using scrap paper.

All the assignments, outlines, and the syllabus will only be available in electronic format through Blackboard. I encourage you to only print readings, assignments, or other documentation of this course when absolutely necessary.



## OUTLINE

### WEEK 1: January 13

#### **INTRODUCTION TO BUSINESS AND POLITICS**

Harrod, Jeff. 2006. The Century of the Corporation. In May, Christopher (Ed.). *Global Corporate Power*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers: 23-46.

### WEEK 2: January 20

#### **BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE STATE**

##### Required

Cerny, Philip G. 1997. Paradoxes of the Competition State: The Dynamics of Political Globalization. *Government and Opposition* 32(2): 251-274.

Hart, David M. 2010. The Political Theory of the Firm. In Coen, David, Wyn Grant, and Graham Wilson (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Business and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 173-190.

Woll, Cornelia. 2008. *Firm Interests: How Governments Shape Business Lobbying on Global Trade*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1: Free-Marketeers despite Themselves?: 1-19; and Chapter 2: Business Interests in Political Economy: 20-38.

##### Additional

Hancké, Bob. 2010. Varieties of Capitalism and Business. In Coen, David, Wyn Grant, and Graham Wilson (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Business and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 123-147.

### WEEK 3: January 27

#### **BUSINESS POWER**

##### Required

Susan Strange. 1994. *States and Markets (Second Edition)*. London/New York: Continuum. Chapter 2: Power in the World Economy: 23-42.

Fuchs, Doris. 2007. *Business Power in Global Governance*. Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 3: Business as an Actor in Global Governance: 43-70.



Bernhagen, Patrick. 2007. *The Political Power of Business. Structure and Information in Public Policymaking*. London/New York: Routledge. Chapter 2: Groups, Institutions, Networks, Ideology or Structural Dependence: What Drives Business Power?: 22-53.

#### Additional

Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations. Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 2: The Logic: 17-35.

### **WEEK 4: February 3**

#### **INSTRUMENTAL POWER OF BUSINESS**

#### Required

Walker, Edward T., and Christopher M. Rae. 2014. The Political Mobilization of Firms and Industries. *Annual Review of Sociology* 40: 281-304.

Mahoney, Christine. 2008. *Brussels Versus the Beltway: Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 3: Researching Advocacy: 31-44 (skim for research design background); and Chapter 10: Lobbying Success: 183-206.

Hanegraaff, Marcel. 2015. Interest Groups at Transnational Conferences: Goals, Strategies, Interactions and Influence. *Global Governance* 21(4): 599-620.

#### Additional

Weymouth, Stephen. 2012. Firm Lobbying and Influence in Developing Countries: A Multilevel Approach. *Business and Politics* 14(4): 1-26.

### **WEEK 5: February 10**

#### **STRUCTURAL AND DISCURSIVE POWER OF BUSINESS**

#### Required

Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. 2015. Structuring power: Business and Authority beyond the Nation State. *Business and Politics* 17(3): 527-552.

Bell, Stephen, and Andrew Hindmoor. 2014. The Structural Power of Business and the Power of Ideas: The Strange Case of the Australian Mining Tax. *New Political Economy* 19(3): 470-486.

Wright, Christopher, and Daniel Nyberg. 2014. Creative Self-destruction: Corporate Responses to Climate Change as Political Myths. *Environmental Politics* 23(2): 205-223.

Additional

Bernhagen, Patrick, and Thomas Bräuninger. 2005. Structural Power and Public Policy: A Signaling Model of Business Lobbying in Democratic Capitalism. *Political Studies* 53(1): 43-64.

**WEEK 6: February 17**

**NO CLASS**

Reading week

**WEEK 7: February 24**

**BUSINESS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISM**

Required

Spar, Debora L., and Lane T. La Mure. 2003. The Power of Activism: Assessing the Impact of NGOs on Global Business. *California Management Review* 45(3): 78-101.

Bartley, Tim, and Curtis Child. 2014. Shaming the Corporation: The Social Production of Targets and the Anti-Sweatshop Movement. *American Sociological Review* 79(4): 653-679.

Fridell, Maria, Ian Hudson, and Mark Hudson. 2008. With Friends Like These: The Corporate Response to Fair Trade Coffee. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 40(8): 8-34.

Additional

Desombre, Elizabeth R. 1995. Baptists and Bootleggers for the Environment: The Origins of United States Unilateral Sanctions. *The Journal of Environment and Development* 4(1): 53-75.

**WEEK 8: March 2**

**CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND PRIVATE GOVERNANCE**

Required

Auld, Graeme, Benjamin Cashore, and Steven Bernstein. 2008. The New Corporate Social Responsibility. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 33: 413-435.

Fransen, Luc, and Brian Burgoon. 2012. A Market for Worker Rights: Explaining Business Support for International Private Labour Regulation. *Review of International Political Economy* 19(2): 236-266.

Berliner, Daniel and Aseem Prakash. 2015. "Bluewashing" the Firm? Voluntary Regulations, Program Design, and Member Compliance with the United Nations Global Compact. *Policy Studies Journal* 43(1): 115-138.

### Additional

Potoski, Matthew, and Aseem Prakash. 2006. A Club Theory Approach to Voluntary Programs. In Potoski, Matthew, and Aseem Prakash (Eds.). *Voluntary Programs. A Club Theory Perspective*. Cambridge: MIT Press: 17-39.

Perkins, Richard, and Eric Neumayer. 2010. Geographic Variations in the Early Diffusion of Corporate Voluntary Standards: Comparing ISO 14001 and the Global Compact. *Environment and Planning A* 42(2): 347-365.

## **WEEK 9: March 9**

### **BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC CRISIS**

#### Required

Culpepper, Pepper D., and Raphael Reinke. 2014. Structural Power and Bank Bailouts in the United Kingdom and the United States. *Politics & Society* 42(4): 427-454.

Grossman, Emiliano, and Cornelia Woll. 2014. Saving the Banks: The Political Economy of Bailouts. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(4): 574-600.

Stephen Bell and Andrew Hindmoor. 2015. Taming the City? Ideas, Structural Power and the Evolution of British Banking Policy amidst the Great Financial Meltdown. *New Political Economy* 20(3): 454-474.

#### Additional

Kahler, Miles, and David A. Lake. 2013. Anatomy of a Crisis: The Great Recession and Political Change. In Kahler, Miles, and David A. Lake (Eds.). *Politics in the New Hard Times. The Great Recession in Comparative Perspective*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press: 1-24.

**WEEK 10: March 16**  
**NO CLASS**

**WEEK 11: March 23**  
**STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**

**WEEK 12: March 30**  
**STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**

**WEEK 13: April 6**  
**STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**